

## Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 08313 01 OF 02 101810Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 COME-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AF-10  
ACDA-07 NEA-10 /106 W  
-----101930Z 022729 /53

R 101600Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8561  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
USMISSION BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USUN NEW YORK 5960

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 8313

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: UR, FR  
SUBJ: FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW

SUMMARY: THE FRENCH HERE HAVE PROVIDED A THOROUGH READ-OUT  
OF FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGAUD'S JUNE 6-7 VISIT TO  
MOSCOW. ADDRESSEES PLEASE STRICTLY PROTECT FRENCH EMBASSY  
AS SOURCE. THE MAIN BUSINESS OF THE VISIT WAS TO WORK OUT THE  
ARRANGEMENTS FOR BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO FRANCE LATER THIS MONTH. IN  
THIS CONNECTION THERE WAS A THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THE  
FOUR DOCUMENTS TO BE SIGNED. THE ATMOSPHERE WAS  
DESCRIBED AS "MORE THAN GOOD" WITH DE GUIRINGAUD  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 08313 01 OF 02 101810Z

AND GROMYKO HOLDING SIX HOURS OF OFFICIAL TALKS PLUS  
TWO PRIVATE MEETINGS. BILATERAL EXCHANGE QUESTIONS  
WERE DISCUSSED, INCLUDING CONDITIONS FOR FRENCH  
CULTURAL AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGES AND COMMERCIAL REP-  
RESENTATIVES. THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS SIGNED A  
LETTER ON THESE SUBJECTS JUST BEFORE DE GUIRINGAUD'S  
DEPARTURE. DISCUSSION OF MOST INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

WAS ROUTINE BUT DE GUIRINGAUD STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES AND THERE WERE INTERESTING EXCHANGES ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THE HORN. THE FRENCH DESCRIBED BREZHNEV AS HARD OF HEARING, SLOW OF SPEECH, BUT PHYSICALLY ACTIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. FRENCH AMBASSADOR DE LEUSSE AND (SEPARATELY) FRENCH EMBOFF HAVE PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING READ-OUT OF DEGUIRINGAUD'S VISIT. IT WAS A WORKING VISIT WHICH WAS MAINLY DEVOTED TO PREPARATIONS FOR BREZHNEV'S VISIT TO PARIS LATER THIS MONTH. DE GUIRINGAUD MET WITH GROMYKO FOR SIX HOURS OF OFFICIAL TALKS. AND HELD TWO PRIVATE MEETINGS AS WELL. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF THE FOUR DOCUMENTS TO BE SIGNED DURING THE BREZHNEV VISIT, BUT THE FRENCH EMPHASIZED THAT THE DOCUMENTS WOULD NOT BE FORMAL AGREEMENTS IN THE SENSE OF BEING BINDING ON EITHER SIDE. RATHER, THEY WILL PROVIDE A GENERAL FRAMEWORK FOR RELATIONS. THE FOUR DOCUMENTS ARE:

-- FIRST, A "GENERAL DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES;"

-- SECOND, A STATEMENT ON DETENTE, WHICH IS STILL BEING WORKED OUT;

-- THIRD, A STATEMENT ON NON-PROLIFERATION WHICH WILL DRAW UPON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S STATEMENTS OF OCTOBER 11 AND DECEMBER 13, 1976, AND

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 08313 01 OF 02 101810Z

-- FOURTH, A STATEMENT ON BILATERAL ECONOMIC MATTERS, INCLUDING A PART ON FINANCING AND A PART ON GOODS EXCHANGE. THE LATTER PART WILL INCLUDE A LIST OF PROJECTS, OF WHICH THOSE IN THE CHEMICAL INDUSTRY WILL BE PROMINENT. THE ECONOMIC DOCUMENT WILL ALSO REFER TO THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF BOTH COUNTRIES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE FRENCH 1974 PLAN AND THE CURRENT SOVIET FIVE YEAR PLAN (1976-80).

2. THE DISCUSSION OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS DID NOT TOUCH ON CHINA, BERLIN OR ANY OTHER ASIAN OR EUROPEAN MATTERS. ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, DE GUIRINGAUD DESCRIBED STATEMENTS MADE AT THE RECENT DAKAR CONFERENCE AND OUTLINED FRENCH ATTITUDES TOWARD SOUTHERN AFRICA. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE EXPRESSED FRENCH SUPPORT FOR THE BRITISH EFFORTS IN RHODESIA. GROMYKO, AT THIS POINT, REFERRED TO "RUMORS" THAT THE SOVIETS ARE SEEKING "EXCLUSIVE" INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND REJECTED THEM AS GROUNDLESS. GROMYKO WAS VERY

CRITICAL OF THE WEST ON SOUTHERN AFRICA AND SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE TO SUPPORT NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE AREA.

3. IN DE GUIRINGAUD'S MEETING WITH BREZHNEV, THE LATTER ASSERTED THAT THE SOVIETS HAD "NO HAND" IN RECENT DEVELOPMENTS "IN ANGOLA" DESPITE ANY RUMORS AND ACCUSATIONS FROM FOREIGN SOURCES. "THE SOVIET CONSCIENCE IS CLEAR," HE ASSERTED, ADDING THAT HE "HOPED" THAT THE FRENCH CONSCIENCE ALSO IS. THE FRENCH INFERRED THAT BREZHNEV'S REFERENCE TO ANGOLA WAS NOT RELATED TO ANGOLAN INTERNAL EVENTS BUT TO THE INVASION OF SHABA. BUT ZAIRE WAS NOT EXPLICITLY MENTIONED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 08313 02 OF 02 101858Z  
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-01  
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02  
SS-15 USIA-06 EB-07 COME-00 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AF-10  
ACDA-07 NEA-10 /106 W  
-----101929Z 023554 /53

R 101600Z JUN 77  
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8562  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
USMISSION BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BONN  
USMISSION GENEVA  
AMEMBASSY LISBON  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
USMISSION NATO  
AMEMBASSY PARIS  
AMEMBASSY ROME  
USUN NEW YORK 5961

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 8313

NOFORN

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

4. ON THE HORN OF AFRICA, GROMYKO DID NOT COMMENT

ON THE SUDAN, BUT SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD "MAKE ITS BEST EFFORTS" WITH ETHIOPIA. DE GUIRINGAUD NOTED THAT DJIBOUTI WAS NOW INDEPENDENT AND REQUESTED THAT THE SOVIET UNION SUPPORT ITS ADMISSION TO THE UNITED NATIONS. GROMYKO INDICATED THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD DO SO. GROMYKO THEN ASKED WHETHER THE FRENCH WOULD KEEP THEIR BASE IN DJIBOUTI, TO WHICH DE GUIRINGAUD REPLIED THAT THE FRENCH WOULD HAVE NO BASE BUT WOULD HELP THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN SECURITY

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 08313 02 OF 02 101858Z

MATTERS IF THEY WERE ASKED. GROMYKO SAID THAT THE SOVIET UNION SEEKS TO BE A "MODERATING INFLUENCE" IN AND AROUND ETHIOPIA.

5. THE MIDDLE EAST WAS DISCUSSED ONLY BRIEFLY SINCE SOVIET AND FRENCH POSITIONS ARE VERY CLOSE. GROMYKO OFFERED TO KEEP THE FRENCH INFORMED ON THE PROCESS OF MOVEMENT TOWARD THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THE SOVIETS DID NOT RAISE THE ISSUE OF THE NEW ISRAELI GOVERNMENT.

6. TURNING TO THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE, AND SPECIFICALLY THE RECENT MEETING IN PARIS, DE GUIRINGAUD SAID BLUNTLY THAT THE MEETING WAS NOT A FAILURE AND THAT SOVIET COVERAGE OF THE EVENT WAS INACCURATE. HE CRITICIZED THE SOVIET POSITION AND SAID THAT THE CONFERENCE HAD NOT REFUSED THE PARTICIPATION OF "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES. GROMYKO RESPONDED THAT THE SOVIETS WERE NOT INTERESTED IN AGREEMENTS IN WHICH THEY HAD NOT PARTICIPATED, AND SAW THE PARIS MEETING AS A MATTER BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED WESTERN COUNTRIES AND THE LESS-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES.

7. ON DISARMAMENT QUESTIONS, BREZHNEV HAD SAID EMPHATICALLY THAT THE REAL ISSUE TODAY IS THE AVOIDANCE OF NUCLEAR WAR, AND HE THEN REPEATED ALMOST VERBATIM HIS STATEMENT FOR FRENCH TELEVISION. DE GUIRINGAUD RAISED WITH GROMYKO THE QUESTION OF RESTRAINTS IN ARMS SALES, CITING GISCARD'S STATEMENT AT DAKAR. GROMYKO REPLIED THAT ARMS SALES ARE ONLY A SYMPTON, NOT THE CAUSE OF DISPUTES, AND ONE MUST ADDRESS THE CAUSES OF DISPUTES.

8. ON NON-PROLIFERATION, FRENCH EMBOFF SAID THAT THE SOVIETS HAD BEEN UNWILLING TO DISCUSS DIFFICULT ISSUES AND AS A RESULT THE TALKS HAD REMAINED QUITE

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 08313 02 OF 02 101858Z

GENERAL. (VIKTOR ISRAELYAN, CHIEF OF THE SOVIET MFA'S INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS DIVISION, GAVE POL COUNSELOR ON JUNE 9 A FULLER READ-OUT ON THE DISARMAMENT ASPECT OF THE TALKS (SEPTTEL).

9. DE LEUSSE SAID THAT DE GUIRINGAUD'S MEETING WITH BREZHNEV LASTED ONE HOUR AND FIFTEEN MINUTES (DE LEUSSE WAS PRESENT FOR THIS MEETING). HE CONTINUED THAT BREZHNEV SEEMD DEAF AT FIRST AND HAD TROUBLE SPEAKING BUT LATER LIVENED UP. HE SPOKE AS THOUGH HE WERE GIVING A SPEECH TO 10,000 PEOPLE, SAID DE LEUSSE, RATHER THAN TALKING TO TWO INTERLOCUTORS.

10. THE FRENCH DID NOT ASK EXPLICITLY WHETHER BREZHNEV WOULD BE COMING TO FRANCE AS HEAD OF STATE BUT THEIR SOUNDINGS ELSEWHERE HAD LED THEM TO EXPECT THIS. DE LEUSSE RELATED AN INCIDENT WHERE A MEMBER OF THE FRENCH PRESS CORPS HAD ASKED BREZHNEV (IN FRENCH OR ENGLISH) AT THE BEGINNING OF HIS MEETING WITH DE GUIRINGAUD, WHETHER HE WOULD GO TO FRANCE AS HEAD OF STATE. NOT UNDERSTANDING, BREZHNEV DID NOT RESPOND AND WHEN GROMYKO WAS ASKED TO INTERPRET, HE SAID THAT HE DID NOT UNDERSTAND THE QUESTION, LAUGHED AND CORSSSED HIMSELF IN MOCK INNOCENCE.

11. THE FRENCH INDICATED THAT THE ATMOSPHERE OF THE VISIT WAS "MORE THAN GOOD." THERE HAD BEEN NO PROPAGANDA, THE TALKS WERE CRISP AND TOUGH AND THE TWO FOREIGN MINISTERS HAD SPENT A LONG TIME TOGETHER. BESIDES THE FOUR FORMAL MEETINGS THERE WERE AT LEAST TWO ADDITIONAL PRIVATE MEETINGS. THE AMOUNT OF TIME AND THE DEPTH OF THE DISCUSSIONS HAD SURPRISED THE FRENCH AND THE GOOD ATMOSPHERE HAD PROBABLY RESULTED IN THE SIGNING AT THE AIRPORT OF THE LETTER COVERING THE WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS FOR

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 08313 02 OF 02 101858Z

FRENCH (AND SOVIET) CITIZENS IN CONNECTION WITH CULTURAL, TECHNICAL AND COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES. THE SOVIETS, ACCORDING TO THE FRENCH, HAD BEEN HESITANT TO SIGN THIS COMMITMENT BECAUSE THEY DID NOT WANT IT TO BE A PRECEDENT, BUT THEY HAD FINALLY GIVEN IN AS A GESTURE TO DE GUIRINGAUD ON HIS DEPARTURE.

MATLOCK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X  
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am  
**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:** FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETINGS, DIPLOMATIC MISSIONS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS  
**Control Number:** n/a  
**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Sent Date:** 10-Jun-1977 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am  
**Decaption Note:**  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
**Disposition Reason:**  
**Disposition Remarks:**  
**Document Number:** 1977MOSCOW08313  
**Document Source:** CORE  
**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** n/a  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** X1  
**Errors:** N/A  
**Expiration:**  
**Film Number:** D770208-0147  
**Format:** TEL  
**From:** MOSCOW  
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Image Path:**  
**ISecure:** 1  
**Legacy Key:** link1977/newtext/t19770669/aaaacilk.tel  
**Line Count:** 276  
**Litigation Code IDs:**  
**Litigation Codes:**  
**Litigation History:**  
**Locator:** TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM  
**Message ID:** 4a21667f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Office:** ACTION EUR  
**Original Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Page Count:** 6  
**Previous Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Previous Classification:** CONFIDENTIAL  
**Previous Handling Restrictions:** n/a  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Retention:** 0  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 25-Jan-2005 12:00:00 am  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**SAS ID:** 2196373  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** NATIVE  
**Subject:** FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW SUMMARY: THE FRENCH HERE HAVE PROVIDED A THOROUGH READ-OUT OF FOREIGN MINISTER DE GUIRINGAUD'S JUNE 6-7 VISIT  
**TAGS:** PFOR, UR, FR, (DE GUIRINGAUD, LOUIS)  
**To:** STATE  
**Type:** TE  
**vdkgvkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS\_Docs/4a21667f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc  
**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009